

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 SALT T 00072 101806Z

47

ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 DODE-00 CIAE-00 INRE-00

ACDE-00 /026 W
----- 109738

O P 101645Z MAR 75
FM USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2476
INFO AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY
USMISSION NATO PRIORITY

S E C R E T SALT TWO GENEVA 0072

EXDIS/SALT

DEPT ALSO PASS DOD

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDSI
TAGS: PARM
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR JOHNSON'S STATEMENT OF MARCH 10, 1974
(SALT TWO - 552)

THE FOLLOWING IS STATEMENT DELIVERED BY AMBASSADOR
JOHNSON AT THE SALT TWO MEETING OF MARCH 10, 1975.

QUOTE

MR. MINISTER:

TODAY I WILL PRESENT SOME CONSIDERATIONS THAT FORM THE
BASIS FOR THE PROVISIONS CONTAINED IN ARTICLE III OF THE U.S.
DRAFT TEXT. THIS ARTICLE NOT ONLY CONTAINS THE EQUAL AGGREGATE
LIMITATION ON DELIVERY VEHICLES FOR STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS,
BUT IT CONTAINS AS WELL SPECIFIC PROVISIONS FOR IMPLEMENTING
THAT LIMITATION IN AN UNAMBIGUOUS MANNER.

I

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 SALT T 00072 101806Z

PARAGRAPH 1 OF ARTICLE III LIMITS "ICBM, SLBM, AND ASBM LAUNCHERS AND HEAVY BOMBERS TO AN AGGREGATE NUMBER NOT TO EXCEED 2,400". THE INTERIM AGREEMENT WILL REMAIN IN FORCE UNTIL OCTOBER 3, 1977. ON THAT DATE AND IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE TERMS OF THE AIDE-MEMOIRE, THE 2,400 AGGREGATE LIMITATION WILL APPLY AND BOTH PARTIES WILL FROM THAT DATE BE PERMITTED NO MORE THAN THE 2,400 STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS SPECIFIED IN PARAGRAPH 1. ARTICLE III, WHEN CONSIDERED IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE DEFINITIONS CONTAINED IN ARTICLE II OF THE DRAFT TEXT, MAKES CLEAR EXACTLY WHAT SYSTEMS ARE TO BE INCLUDED IN THE 2,400 AGGREGATE LIMIT.

TAKEN IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE DEFINITION OF ICBMS IN ARTICLE II, ARTICLE III INCLUDES LAND-MOBILE ICBMS WITHIN THE 2,400 AGGREGATE LIMITATION. THIS IS ALSO CONSISTENT WITH THE UNDERSTANDING REACHED AT VLADIVOSTOK. IF EITHER SIDE SHOULD, UNDER THE NEW AGREEMENT, DEPLOY LAND-MOBILE ICBMS, EACH LAUNCHER FOR SUCH MISSILES WILL BE INCLUDED WITHIN THE AGGREGATE LIMITATION.

TAKEN IN CONJUNCTION WITH ARTICLE II, ARTICLE III INCLUDES IN THE AGGREGATE LAUNCHERS FOR ASBMS WITH RANGES GREATER THAN 600 KM. INSTALLED ON BOMBERS. IN THE U.S. VIEW, THE OVERALL AGGREGATE LIMITATION AGREED TO AT VLADIVOSTOK AND REFLECTED IN THE AIDE-MEMOIRE APPLIES ONLY TO LAUNCHERS FOR SUCH MISSILES. IN OUR VIEW, THE SOVIET DRAFT GOES BEYOND THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING IN INCLUDING AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILES "OF ANY TYPE" IN THE AGGREGATE AND ALSO IN CONTAINING A BAN ON AIR-TO-SURFACE MISSILES ON AIRCRAFT OTHER THAN BOMBERS.

THE SECOND SENTENCE OF PARAGRAPH 1 OF THE DRAFT TEXT STATES THAT, " SUBJECT TO THE PROVISIONS OF THIS AGREEMENT, EACH PARTY WILL BE FREE TO DETERMINE THE COMPOSITION OF THE AGGREGATE." THIS PROVISION IMPLEMENTS THE IMPORTANT PRINCIPLE OF FREEDOM-TO-MIX WHICH WAS AFFIRMED IN THE AIDE-MEMOIRE. THE U.S. DRAFT CONTAINS NO LIMITATIONS ON FREEDOM-TO-MIX WITHIN THE 2,400 AGGREGATE EXCEPT THOSE LIMITATIONS DERIVED FROM THE INTERIM AGREEMENT WHICH THE TWO SIDES HAVE AGREED SHOULD BE CARRIED OVER INTO THE NEW AGREEMENT. IN CONTRAST, CERTAIN ELEMENTS OF THE SOVIET DRAFT WOULD IMPOSE ADDITIONAL CONSTRAINTS THAT WOULD SIGNIFICANTLY LIMIT FREEDOM-TO-MIX.

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 SALT T 00072 101806Z

II

PARAGRAPH 2 OF ARTICLE III CONSISTS OF TWO PARTS DEALING WITH DIFFERENT ASPECTS OF THE SAME QUESTION; NAMELY, WHEN AND UNDER WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES SHOULD THE PARTICULAR STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS LIMITED BY PARAGRAPH 1 BE INCLUDED IN THE AGGREGATE? THE PROVISIONS IN THIS PARAGRAPH ARE NECESSARY IN ORDER

FOR THERE TO BE SPECIFIC UNDERSTANDINGS BETWEEN THE SIDES AS TO WHEN AND UNDER WHAT CIRCUMSTANCES EACH OF THE ARMS LIMITED BY THE AGREEMENT WILL BE SO INCLUDED.

SUBPARAGRAPH 2(A) SPECIFIES WHEN NEWLY PRODUCED ARMS WILL BE INCLUDED IN THE AGGREGATE. THIS SUBPARAGRAPH TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE INHERENTLY DIFFERENT CHARACTERISTICS OF VARIOUS TYPES OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS. THE INTERIM AGREEMENT ESTABLISHED THE USEFUL PRECEDENT OF DIFFERENTIATING BETWEEN THE TIMES AT WHICH ICBM AND SLBM LAUNCHERS WOULD BE SUBJECT TO THE LIMITATIONS OF THAT AGREEMENT. THIS PARAGRAPH FOLLOWS THE SAME APPROACH IN DEALING WITH THE OTHER TYPES OF STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS TO BE INCLUDED IN THE AGGREGATE.

IN PARTICULAR, THE PROVISION FOR INCLUDING "FIXED ICBM LAUNCHERS THAT ARE EITHER OPERATIONAL OR UNDER CONSTRUCTION" IS BASED UPON ARTICLE I OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT. THE PROVISION FOR INCLUDING SLBM LAUNCHERS "WHEN THE SUBMARINE CARRYING SUCH SLBM LAUNCHERS BEGINS SEA TRIALS" IS BASED UPON AN AGREED INTERPRETATION OF THE INTERIM AGREEMENT AND IS ALSO CONSISTENT WITH THE SCC PROCEDURES OF JULY 3, 1974. THE PROVISION FOR INCLUDING MOBILE ICBM LAUNCHERS, HEAVY BOMBERS, AND ASBM LAUNCHERS WHEN THEY "ARE FIRST BROUGHT OUT OF THE FINAL ASSEMBLY FACILITY" IS BASED UPON THE INHERENT CAPABILITY OF THESE SYSTEMS TO BE READILY DEPLOYED AFTER ASSEMBLY.

IT IS ALSO NECESSARY TO ACCOUNT FOR STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE ARMS WHICH ARE UNDERGOING OVERHAUL, REPAIR, OR CONVERSION OR ARE IN STORAGE OR RESERVE. THESE ARE COVERED BY SUBPARAGRAPH 2(B) OF ARTICLE III WHICH INCLUDES WITHIN THE 2,400 AGGREGATE LIMIT ALL LAUNCHERS FOR ICBMS, SLBMS, AND ASBMS AND HEAVY BOMBERS THAT ARE UNDERGOING "CONVERSION", "OVERHAUL", OR "REPAIR". SIMILARLY, SYSTEMS IN ANY TYPE OF "STORAGE", OR SYSTEMS PLACED IN "RESERVE",
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 04 SALT T 00072 101806Z

ARE INCLUDED WITHIN THE AGGREGATE. THE TERM "STORAGE" USED IN THE U.S. DRAFT IS MORE INCLUSIVE THAN THE TERM "MOTHBALLED" AND IS INTENDED TO MAKE CLEAR THAT THIS PROVISION INCLUDES SYSTEMS IN STORAGE REGARDLESS OF LENGTH OF TIME OR METHOD OF PRESERVATION.

III

PARAGRAPH 3 SPECIFIES THAT "THE NUMBER OF ASBM LAUNCHERS" ON A BOMBER "SHALL BE EQUAL TO THE MAXIMUM NUMBER OF ASBMS WHICH EACH BOMBER IS CONFIGURED TO CARRY AT ONE TIME AND LAUNCH IN THE COURSE OF ONE MISSION." THIS PARAGRAPH IS DESIGNED TO ESTABLISH A CLEAR METHOD FOR DETERMINING FOR EACH BOMBER THE NUMBER OF ASBM LAUNCHERS TO BE INCLUDED IN THE AGGREGATE ON EACH SIDE.

IV

PARAGRAPH 4 OF THIS ARTICLE SPECIFIED THAT "A HEAVY BOMBER EQUIPPED ONLY WITH ASBMS SHALL NOT ITSELF BE INCLUDED IN THE AGGREGATE." THE PARAGRAPH IS BASED ON THE CONSIDERATION THAT, JUST AS SUBMARINES CONTAINING SLBM LAUNCHERS ARE NOT INCLUDED IN THE AGGREGATE, HEAVY BOMBERS THAT ARE EQUIPPED ONLY WITH ASBM LAUNCHERS SHOULD NOT BE INCLUDED IN THE AGGREGATE.

V

PARAGRAPH 5 PROVIDES FOR INCLUDING WITHIN THE AGGREGATE "ALL LAND-MOBILE BALLISTIC MISSILE LAUNCHERS COMPATIBLE WITH LAUNCHING AN ICBM". IN THE ABSENCE OF SUCH A PROVISION, THE LIMITATIONS ON THE AGGREGATE OF ARTICLE III COULD BE CIRCUMVENTED BY DEPLOYMENT OF LAND-MOBILE LAUNCHERS FOR BALLISTIC MISSILES OF LESS THAN ICBM RANGE WHICH ARE NEVERTHELESS COMPATIBLE WITH LAUNCHING AN ICBM.

MR. MINISTER, IN SUM, ARTICLE III IMPLEMENTS A MAJOR PORTION OF THE VLADIVOSTOK UNDERSTANDING. I WILL CONTINUE MY EXPOSITION OF OTHER ARTICLES OF THE DRAFT TEXT AT OUR NEXT MEETINGS. UNQUOTEJOHNSON

SECRET

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptoning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TEXT, ARMS CONTROL MEETINGS, SALT (ARMS CONTROL), SPEECHES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 10 MAR 1975
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975SALTT00072
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X1
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D750083-0680
From: SALT TALKS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t19750366/aaaachjc.tel
Line Count: 191
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 19 JUN 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <19 JUN 2003 by WorrelSW>; APPROVED <19 JUN 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: AMBASSADOR JOHNSON'S STATEMENT OF MARCH 10, 1974 (SALT TWO - 552)
TAGS: PARM, (JOHNSON, U ALEXIS)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006